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CLASSICAL WEEKLY

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REVIEWS

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ABSTRACTS OF ARTICLES

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

DAILY LIFE IN ANCIENT ROME

The People and the City at the Height of the Empire

JEROME CARCOPINO

Translated from the French by E. O. Lorimer; Edited with a Bibliography and Notes by Henry T. Rowell, Professor of Latin in Johns Hopkins University.

"It makes excellent reading and is herewith practically guaranteed to any one who went as far in school as Caesar. . . . M. Carcopino is a classical scholar and archaeologist . . . but the material uncovered is the kind that classical scholars and professors of Latin frequently pass over, either because they consider it unbecoming or undignified, or because they were never sure of it in the first place. It deals with the sort of beds the Romans slept in, the shoes and underwear they wore, the meals they ate, the jobs they worked at, the plumbing they enjoyed or didn't enjoy, the education and religion they were exposed to, and the traffic, sights, noises, customs, and morals of the city at large. . . . M. Carcopino tells the story well and in frank and graphic detail. Professor Rowell, as editor, has supplied a series of illustrations and added extensive notes to the French original." *New York Times*.

Illustrated

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MEMORANDA

A commendable campaign is being made by several classical scholars to encourage medical educators to formulate their desire to see students entering medical schools with a knowledge of Latin and Greek.

A recommendation is to be made to an approaching meeting of leaders in medical education that these should be the languages expected of a medical applicant. In this connection there is important significance in the letter of Professor Ullman printed in the current issue of *The Classical Outlook* together with the reply of Dr. Fred C. Zappfe, Secretary of the Association of American Medical Colleges. Exposing the unscholarly nature of "premedical" requirements, Dr. Zappfe blames the colleges for not sending to the medical schools men of classical training and speaks

from long experience in various fields of teaching when he says, "I would unhesitatingly accept as a medical student one who is long on the classics, especially Greek, and short on science. Physicians should be educated, not trained."

Deans of medical colleges interviewed on this topic have promised to support the campaign for classical languages in the preliminary training of their students. A most timely suggestion comes from Professor Flickinger that now, while the subject is under discussion, every teacher of Latin and Greek should write a letter to the dean of the medical school of his district to add to the reasons of Dr. Zappfe for insisting on this fundamental requisite for competent study of medicine. Here is something to do about education and an opportunity to help the thoughtful medical educators in their constant effort to improve their professional preparation.

COMING ATTRACTIONS NOVEMBER 9 Seaside Hotel, Atlantic City

NEW JERSEY CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION

Luncheon Meeting, followed by a conference on Modernizing and Popularizing the Study of the Latin Language

Speakers: Professor W. L. Carr, Teachers College, Columbia University

Dr. John F. Gummere, William Penn Charter School, Philadelphia

Discussion Leader: Mrs. William R. Pentz, Merchantville High School

NOVEMBER 23 Chalfonte Hotel, Atlantic City CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE ATLANTIC STATES

President: Sister Maria Walburg, College of Mt. St. Joseph

Program Chairman: Miss Mildred Dean, Roosevelt High School, Washington

Vice-Presidents: Professor Moses Hadas, Columbia University; Miss Edna White, Dickinson High School, Jersey City

Secretary: Dr. John F. Gummere, William Penn Charter School, Philadelphia

DECEMBER 6-7 Iowa City

Twenty-third Annual Conference of the Classical Teachers of Iowa

Speakers: Professor Clyde Murley, Northwestern University

Professor W. A. Oldfather, University of Illinois

Professor Franklin H. Potter, State University of Iowa

Professor Grace Beede, University of South Dakota

Sister Mary Donald, Mundelein College

Professor F. S. Dunham, University of Michigan

Programs available from Professor R. C. Flickinger, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa

DECEMBER 26-28 Lord Baltimore Hotel, Baltimore

AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF AMERICA

REVIEWS

Archaeology and the New Testament. By STEPHEN L. CAIGER. x, 194 pages, 1 + 16 plates, 1 map. Cassell and Company, London 1939 (\$1.40).

In his small volume on New Testament archaeology, Reverend Stephen L. Caiger, B.D., lecturer at the Training College, Derby, has attempted a very useful task. As he points out, archaeology seems to have been pre-empted by Old Testament scholarship, and those who have written on its New Testament phases have often been tempted to stray into the fields of later Christian art and antiquities. Except in his last chapter, Mr. Caiger holds himself somewhat strictly to the New Testament period and gives an interesting popular account of the results of various archaeological studies in that field.

In a series of nine chapters he discusses "personal relics of Christ," Jerusalem and its shrines, other Palestinian and Near Eastern sites mentioned in the New Testament, the contribution of inscriptions to New Testament history and interpretation, the light which the papyri have thrown on the language and the social background of the New Testament, and, finally, recently discovered manuscripts of the New Testament and of apocryphal Gospels. In general his use of his materials is moderately critical and his conclusions reasonable. He dismisses the relics of Christ as unauthentic. He points out the uncertainty of the identifications of sacred sites in Jerusalem and Nazareth and their lack of historical and religious importance. His conclusion, that, for the New Testament student, "Jerusalem, taken in detail, is an Old Curiosity Shop full of dubious antiques," is one of the best archaeological descriptions of the tourist's Holy City that I have met.

One may wonder whether the spurious relics were worth a chapter, and whether the brief items about various sites, alphabetically arranged, are full enough to be worth printing. Gordon's Calvary and the Garden Tomb could be dismissed in a sentence. Half-page quotations from Sophronius seem hardly worth transcribing.

There are certain slips of the pen and memory. The synagogue Mr. Crowfoot found at Jerash is transferred to Jericho. Modern Jericho is not el-Richa, but Eriha. Book titles are sometimes misquoted. One wonders how Arabs entered the Temple by an underground passage in 1938.

Occasional expressions betray lack of familiarity with Palestine, as when the "Tomb of Hiram" is located not far from the village of Khirbet Kana, and et-Tell, north of the Sea of Galilee, is called a village. Neither place is an inhabited village, and at the latter site there are no Roman ruins or even potsherds.

In numerous places the author betrays the use of old materials. For example it is now agreed that there is no naumachia at Jerash; its market place is not semicircular; its central temple was dedicated to Artemis, not the Sun-god. The supposed "typical" stadium at Samaria was no stadium at all. The author has not always used the more recent authorities to good advantage. He refers to Rhys Carpenter's valuable little guide to Corinth but misses the one inscription which carries at least the name of a New Testament character: "Erastos, procurator, aedile, laid the pavement at his own expense." As Professor Carpenter points out, the block, though reused, lies in a first-century pavement. Paul, writing from Corinth about 55 A.D. (Ro 16.23), mentions a "city-manager" (*oikovópos*) named Erastos, who may be the same person.

Mr. Caiger's book is an entertaining collection of valuable information, but in details cannot be regarded as an authoritative account of the results of modern archaeology.

C. C. McCOWN

PACIFIC SCHOOL OF RELIGION

Neue Senecastudien. Textkritische Beiträge zu Senecas Epistulae Morales. By BERTIL AXELSON. viii, 243 pages. Gleerup, Lund 1939 (Lunds Universitets Årsskrift, 36.1) 8 kr.

The Neue Senecastudien maintains the high level of brilliant and careful scholarship which has characterized the work of its author since the publication of his dissertation (Senecastudien, Lund 1933). It is marked by sound sense and keen linguistic ability, as well as an intimate acquaintance with Seneca.

The studies open with a fairly lengthy but highly valuable chapter dealing with Senecan criticism. Axelson emphasizes the importance of confirming readings from the bulk of Seneca's own writings. Certain features of Seneca's style, as his antipathy to archaisms (Axelson is not altogether convincing here), poetic influence, the omission of *tantum* ('only'), love of antithesis and inversions of thought, require attention; occasionally however editors have given them undue significance. Seneca is not the most careful, the most logical of writers; often an obscurity or inconsistency is due not to the scribe but to Seneca's careless manner. The value of the clausula as a criterion of the true reading should be neither underestimated nor overestimated; it is only a supplementary tool. The attempt to cling to manuscript tradition often makes for absurdities in the text. Finally we have a criticism of various Senecan scholars and a partial list of editions of the Epistles.

The second chapter appraises the MSS. The value of Parisinus 8540 (p) has not always been fully recog-

nized; on the other hand, there is no reason in doubtful cases for setting it above the other mss. In the case of the γ -class of mss. (b,P,V), a reading resting solely on one member of the class is to be regarded with distrust. The section on the Quirinianus (Q) offers nothing especially original, but shows good sense in criticizing Q's readings. The chapter closes with a discussion of the inferiores, not designed to be complete or final. Our knowledge of them, however inadequate, based principally on Fickert's unsatisfactory apparatus, reveals that they offer many better readings than the older mss., that few if any of them are derived from our older sources, although in the first half of the Letters most go back to a source which coincides essentially with the archetype of Pb(V?), and in the second half they show greater affinity to Q than to B; many worthy readings of s, probably in part based on an old tradition and in part happy conjectures, have wrongly been neglected.

The third chapter and the "Anhang" which follows discuss primarily passages from the Epistles and the Natural Questions respectively. These comprise questions of interpretation, punctuation, and textual emendation.

Axelson's many emendations are in large part convincing or, when not convincing, are at any rate provocative and deserving of thought. They are only occasionally rendered less effective by a self-confidence so frank as to be disconcerting. Of the several hundred passages discussed only a very few, selected at random, can be mentioned. The following are among those certainly right:¹ Ep. 57:9: read either *proteri* (Haupt) or *opteri* (Madvig); 98:10: adopt Pincianus's *trudant* (>*turdant*) >*turbant* [Q] >*turbent* [B]); 110:15: insertion of *nisi* after *aliquid* is unnecessary, and is the wrong particle in any case; 12:3: place comma after *pupulus*; 15:11: keep the ms. order: *finem* here means *summum bonum, virtutem* (cf. 74:11); 22:15: retain *quo modo*, which corresponds to §14; 71:16: retain *si* of mss.; 80:1 adopt v. Ian's *crepabit* for *crepuit* (<*crepauit*<*crepabit*); 89:15: *sua* of BQ is unobjectionable; 90:19: read *corpori* of BQ, coll. Clem. I 3:5; 95:33: the reading *ex homine mors est* is sound (cf. 103:2, 103:3); 104:28: retain *moverint*; N.Q. II 1:2: *terrasque* of Φ is right (cf. Dial. XII 20:2); II 16: the right reading is *impetu iactus*.

Of special interest is Axelson's insistence on the frequency of the 'psychological error' ('Perseveranzfehler', 'Influenzfehler'). Thus in Ep. 117:12 Belrami's emendation *ita eorum*, based on Q's *ita iterum*, reveals his failure to realize that *iterum* arose from the following *alterum*; cf. e.g. 123:4, where *adsuescit* arose under the influence of *adsuescere* (§3) and replaced

adquiescit (read by some s); 123:16, where *insanus* (so s) became *insanandus* under the influence of the following *amandos*, and see discussions p. 128, 148f., 192-5, 196, 234f. Sometimes however Axelson carries this too far, as in Ep. 85:29, where he prefers Gronovius' *vulnera*, or 8:9, where he accepts *sensum* of Buecheler and Hense, or 88:17, where he suggests *itaque* for the second *utique*; in these cases emendation might improve the text but amounts, I fear, to re-writing Seneca.

It is inevitable of course that Axelson should have occasionally been led astray. He is in error, e.g., in suggesting *debet* for *debeo* in Ben. II 18:5; cf. the opening words of §5. Unnecessary surely is <*minimis*> *minima vincuntur* in N.Q. IVb 11:5. No less so is the change of *invidiam* to *iniuriam* in Dial. V 10:4; cf. Ep. 87:31. Changing *putat* in Ep. 23:10 to *praestat* is, one suspects, improving Seneca as well as the mss. In Ep. 11:5 the replacing of *boni (sanguinis)* by *lenti* is unsound procedure. The emendation *a termino*, Ep. 101:7, is uncertain. In 93:6 <*vere*>*ut sim* is unnecessary (see Castiglioni, *Gnomon* 3 [1927] 668); that in the context *sim = vere sim*, is supported by the examples which Axelson himself presents (Ep. 93:4, Dial. X 7:10). In Ep. 59:15 *illo* is suggested for *illi*, but *illi* is required to mark a contrast with *sapiens*. In Ep. 41:3 we need not read *occurrit . . . faciet*, nor in 33:7 *iste* (so Q) for *ista*. The reading of the older mss. in 8:7, *complicamus*, can stand; it must mean something like our "turn the pages." Madvig's *aera*, which Axelson recommends, in 26:8 is insipid and pointless; surely Seneca could speak in humorous wise of his established practice of closing his letters with a quotation as a "ritual" (*sacra*). In 118:8 Axelson defends Pincianus' *subrepit* for *subripit*, declaring that the latter needs an object; but why any more than the other verbs of the sentence? He is probably right in supplying an adjective in Ep. 66:21, where he reads: . . . *aut exul* <*aut exilis*> *ac pallidus*; but his choice of word is unsatisfactory. In 81:10 he supplies *quare* in the list . . . *a quo*, <*quare*> *quando . . .*; but why postulate a complete list? In 102:13 Axelson fails to give convincing grounds for correcting *illi* to *illic*; certainly *illi* refers to *vir bonus* (§12); cf. Ben. VI 43:2, VII 29:1. He reads with Madvig in 26:8, but he has apparently overlooked Bourgery's simple and more satisfactory suggestion (RPh 37 [1913] 98). There is a fair number of unnecessary changes which Axelson suggests: e.g., Ep. 31:10: *peius* for *eius* (*eius*, contrary to Axelson's opinion, is of general import); 71:13: *innixi* for *inmixti*; 82:14: *externa* for *extrema* (but cf. 54:7, 70:9, 82:16); 122:14: *solvit* for *tollit*; N.Q. VI 13:6: *succidunt* for *succedunt*; Ep. 34:3: *quid illud?* for *quid aliud?*; 94:43: *lucet* for *ducit*; 101:1: *eminebat* for *imminebat*; 106:9: *deducit* for *adducit*; N.Q. III

¹The excellent index obviates the need for citing page numbers.

29.3: <s>tatus for *actus*; IVa pr. 4: *qua tegitur* for *qua petitur*, and deletion of *fortasse . . . petitur* as gloss; V 4.1: *e summo* for *ex imo*, and *luctatio* for *mutatio*; V 15.4: *immanes* for *inanes* (but cf. Plin. nat. II 103); VI 31.3: *iterumque* for *itemque*.

Of considerable prominence in the discussion of Axelson is the factor of the clausula-rhythm. There is hardly room to mention the many instances where Axelson makes wise and valuable use of this principle (cf. e.g. N.Q. III 18.4: retain *et*; Dial. IV 10.2: read *irascere infantibus* with A; IX 10.5: read *in longinqua* with A; XI 11.4: leave *gentibus* unchanged; Ben. VI 23.6: retain *data*; Ep. 91.14: *pertulit senectutis* of s; 122.14: *solutum*, etc.). But quite doubtful is his apparently arbitrary admission of "irrational cretcs" wherever it suits his convenience (see e.g. page 24, Ep. 90.42: *tam interdiu illis quam nocte*; page 25, Ep. 90.43: *secundum naturam domus*; page 26f., Ep. 119.7: *clastes mittit novas*; page 71, Ep. 82.16; page 131, n.29, Ep. 85.38; page 209f., Ep. 103.1), as well as of hiatus (see page 23 n. 35, page 100 n. 15, Ben. VII 23.1, page 102, Ep. 12.1, etc.). The validity of the principle of the clausula-rhythm seems somehow greatly weakened by such procedure. Strange is Ep. 99.21 (100 n. 15): *etiam in lacrimis aliquid sat est*, which Axelson designates as Kl. 2aa (i.e., double cretic with two resolutions); apparently we are to regard the first cretic as represented by two resolutions and an irrational long!

Axelson's occasional oversight or perhaps his negligence in failing to acknowledge that certain of the readings and emendations which he defends had already been suggested or adopted by others deserves censure. Thus his objections to Beltrami's *inibi* in Ep. 114.8 had already been made by Castiglioni (loc. cit.). In Dial. IV 10.2 Bourgery already reads *irascere infantibus*. Similarly Waltz retains *gentibus* in Dial XI 11.4 and *volvisti* in Dial XI 3.4. In Ep. 119.10 Axelson fails to note Hense's acceptance of Baehren's view in his "Addenda et corrigenda" (page 634) and Bourgery's citation of Dial. III 1.2. He fails to indicate that his suggestions in N.Q. I pr. 13, II 59.8 (in part), II 59.11, III 30.8, VII 25.6, are already read by Oltramare.

Like all publications of Lunds Universitet, these studies of Axelson's are beautifully printed on the finest of paper and with relatively few errors. I mention only the most important of these: on page 76 n. 21, read: Rev. de phil. 1910; page 93 (so also in index): Ep. 76.29 (for 76.20); page 108 n. 34 fin.: Tac. Dial. 33.5; page 154 (Ep. 111.3): Dial. IX 14.6; page 205 (Ep. 95.59): SAWW 127 (1892); page 228 (N.Q. IVa pr. 13): Ep. 81.3 (for 83.1). In the index Ep. 95.46 (page 119f.) should read 94.46. On page 10 the citation from Ep. 93 6f. should read *vita esse perfecta*.

We might note that Axelson makes no use of the translations of Barker and of Apelt.

The emphasis given above to some of the faults of Axelson's work should not obscure its great merit. Many of its emendations concern small points, but in their vast sum total they are impressive and significant. The Neue Senectastudien is indispensable for every student of Seneca.

BEN L. CHARNEY

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

La Possessio dell'Ager Publicus, Parte prima.

By FRANCESCA BOZZA. 188 pages. Giuffrè, Milan 1939 (Fondazione Guglielmo Castelli, volume XVIII) 30 lire

Land which the Romans took from their conquered enemies became ager publicus, the domain of the *populus Romanus*. Prominent among the various ways of disposing of such land in the earlier republican period was that of allowing its occupation by individual citizens. This resulted in its transformation into a number of private estates held by virtue of the so-called possessio. This right was originally restricted to patricians, but after the termination of the early class-struggle was extended to plebeian members of the senatorial class. The estates held by way of possessio formed the backbone of the wealth of the aristocracy.

Dr. Bozza has undertaken to study the origin and history of this possessio from the legal, historical, and economic points of view. The present first part of her inquiry deals with the pre-Gracchan period. By a minute examination of the ancient sources and the modern literature she reaches the following conclusions as to its nature. Possessio was acquired by occupation which in turn depended on the formal permission of the Senate, but once such permission had been given each occupant might take as much land as he was able to seize and to hold, even if he did not choose to cultivate all of it. No vectigal was imposed on the land held by possessio, but the State retained a sovereignty which found its expression in the right to take back land previously granted for occupation, even after many years. In some cases, though not frequently, revocatio actually took place. Accordingly, the occupant had, in contrast with the one who received a piece of public land in property by *adsignatio*, no absolute title. Possessio of ager publicus was only "dominazione," an actual holding by an individual of a part of the public domain, socially and politically recognized but not legally protected.

The strangest aspect of the possessio of ager publicus is its restriction to the aristocracy, even after the plebeians had obtained equality. Dr. Bozza justly rejects attempts at explaining this as due either to legal

obstacles or to economic reasons which made it undesirable for plebeians to seek such property. To her mind the restriction was developed from conditions which prevailed at the beginning of Roman history. To make this clear she enters upon an extensive discussion of the political and constitutional history of the regal period occupying about one-third of the volume. Rome, according to her, owed its origin as a city-state to the Etruscans. During the two centuries of their rule, exercised as a military dictatorship, they united in an organized political body the several villages of poor and primitive Latin herdsmen, which formerly had composed a loosely connected league for worship and defense, the king being only a war leader and an official concerned with taking the auspicia. Delivered from foreign rule, the Latin element, which had never been altered in its national character, although it had become more civilized and used to agriculture, assumed the leadership in the State. Agriculture became the economic basis of the young republic, and the numerous craftsmen and merchants who, coming from everywhere, had made Rome a thriving industrial and commercial city under the Etruscans, were deprived of their rights and took on a reduced status as plebs. The primitive Latin village had known no individual land title but only a de facto dominion over its pastures as far as its power extended. Since the village was rather a union of independent heads of families than an organized political community, such dominion was exercised conjointly by its individual members. For each of them, this amounted to a sort of political sovereignty. The author terms this possession a political one, and as such it was taken over into the republic, although its political character was no longer that of sovereignty (this now belonged to the State as separate from its members), but that of the dominant position of a ruling class which once had formed the body politic. The selfishness of the aristocracy kept this system on in an epoch when it had long become a social and economic evil, thus giving rise to bitter struggles throughout the republican period.

It seems to this reviewer that the author's theory of the origin of the possessio is less convincing than that of its legal structure. Let us mention one cardinal point. Dr. Bozza justly stresses the fact that the Romans preserved their Latin character through the Etruscan period. This is hard to reconcile with the claim that they received all of their higher civilization, including agriculture, from their rulers. So we may also doubt the alleged primitive nature of their early political life. Witness the *legis actio per sacramentum*. The author argues from its character as a procedure based on arbitration. Gaius Inst. 4.16, however, shows that the parties resorted to arbitration as a consequence of the intervention of a magistrate. This intervention is proof

that there was at that time some sort of an organized state, and the procedure must date from pre-Etruscan times, since the Etruscans as military rulers would have favored a more direct and authoritative way of settling disputes.

I believe that the author, for all the new knowledge that we owe to her, has not yet found the final solution of this problem. Nevertheless, future research certainly will follow her a long way. I especially feel that she is right in pointing out the rôle played by the idea of "dominazione" in the early Roman society and in emphasizing its individualistic structure. Both were characteristic features also of the *ius civile* of the republic. Perhaps the possessio of the *ager publicus* was merely a survival from the most ancient form of holding land. It is significant that the forms of both *rei vindicatio* and *mancipatio* show that originally they were applicable to chattels only.

HANS JULIUS WOLFF

VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY

Church and State in the Later Roman Empire.

The Religious Policy of Anastasius the First, 491-518. By PETER CHARANIS. 102 pages. University of Wisconsin Press, Madison 1939 (University of Wisconsin Studies in the Social Sciences and History, No. 26) \$1.50

Dr. Charanis of Rutgers University has put all historians in his debt by a very careful and accurate portrayal of the major and minor politico-religious events of the reign of Anastasius the First. Historians know that in those years statecraft was closely interwoven with theology and christology. The proponents of orthodox religious belief counted upon imperial authority for its enforcement. The author has not only presented an exhaustive bibliography of original source materials, but he himself has used them. Out of a welter of hitherto unknown or partially known facts, he has woven together a very readable narrative. At every point there is clear evidence of mastery of the fine shades of orthodoxy and heterodoxy involved.

Anastasius' predecessor, Zeno, had sought to placate rival factions of those who accepted the christology of the Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451) and those who, eschewing Nestorianism (the human and the divine in Christ in moral, not substantial, union, with special emphasis upon the human), went to the opposite extremes of Eutychianism (Christ had but one nature and that was divine), and came to be known as Monophysites. In doing this Zeno issued his famous Henoticon.

Then Anastasius, who fell heir to the theological quarrels which had been a nightmare to Zeno, found that he could not ignore the situation. The very unity of his empire was at stake. There were three rival

ecclesiastical capitals: Rome, Alexandria and Constantinople. Nowadays in this nation the civil rulers need take no cognizance of such rivalries, Church and the State being separate. But when Church and State are indissolubly united and heterodoxy is treason, then the erstwhile "Queen of the Sciences" creates occasions which shake thrones and may dismember the nation involved.

Try as much as he could, Anastasius could not stem the tide of these disruptive forces in his realm. The Monophysite groups, later to be known in history as the Coptic, Abyssinian, Jacobite or Syrian, Maronite and Armenian Churches, alienated by what they believed to be a Nestorian interpretation of the Chalcedonian christology and further carried into schism by the racial, governmental and ecclesiastical rivalries between the patriarchs of Constantinople and Alexandria and the pope at Rome, severed themselves from Anastasius' realm and from the orthodoxy which he sought to enforce.

This bit of history, in outline, has been generally known for a long time. But Dr. Charanis has cleared up certain mooted questions, dispelled certain errors and generally clarified the history of the period of A.D. 491-518. In the bibliography, the Dictionary of Christian Biography should have Smith and Ware (not Ware) as editors. Reference is made to Carl J. Hefele's History of the Councils. There is a more accurate and recently revised edition of this five-volume work corrected by the noted French Dominican scholar, Father Henri Leclercq. Dr. Claude Jenkins translated Vol. III only of Abbé Duchesne's Early History of the Christian Church. In the Introduction (8) the "Tome of Leo" is wrongly indicated as a writing different from his *Epistola Dogmatica*. One is surprised to see no references to the famous English edition of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers (Oxford and New York, 1900), especially to Volume XIV of this series.

GAIUS JACKSON SLOSSER

WESTERN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

Hellenistische Epigramme auf Dichter. By MATHAEUS GABATHULER. 112 pages. Author, St. Gallen 1937

This able Basle dissertation deals with the interesting topic of the epigrams which the Hellenistic poets have devoted to their predecessors, to each other, and occasionally to themselves. It contains ninety-six epigrams from twenty-three authors, ranging from Plato, who is included as a precursor, to Meleager. Two-thirds of the epigrams are from the Palatine Anthology; the others are derived chiefly from literary sources (Athenaeus and Diogenes Laertius, for example); only one comes from a papyrus, the anonymous lines on Philicus (Pap. Ham. 312). After a brief introduction the text of the

epigrams is given, in the chronological order of their authors, each with a rather extensive apparatus, in which the sources are cited, editions and commentaries are indicated, variant readings are noted (dialectical and orthographical details being omitted), and parallels, particularly from the epigrams on poets, are quoted. The second part, *Besprechung der Epigramme*, gives a running commentary, transitions from one epigram to the next being rather ingeniously managed. Finally, a 'Rückschau' of six pages emphasizes the important facts, and traces the development of this type of epigram. It is remarked that up to and including Dioscorides and Theodoridas, in the early part of the second century B.C., the critical appreciations are original, resulting from actual reading of the poets treated, even when, as in Dioscorides, there is a background of erudition; but from then on, with the waning of Hellenism's creative powers, in this field, too, originality declines; only the stock figures of the past are treated. A classification by form is attempted: actual epitaphs, and developments from that type; inscriptions for works of art; end poems for collected editions; poems to serve as titles at the end of work of other writers; and non-inscriptional epigrams, including the apothegm and short elegy.

Dr. Gabathuler is well acquainted with the extensive modern literature on the Greek epigram, and his work would be valuable if only for the bibliographical information it contains. Proof might have been more carefully read; I note *ἀπὸ κοικοῦ* (11); *μείζων* for *μείων* (39); *periennius* (49); *znsagen* (50); Kallmachos (54); *aīros* (64); *όθεῖν* (72). An index nominum would have added considerably to the usefulness of the work.

JOHN PAUL HEIRONIMUS

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

A Sixth Century Monastery at Beth-Shan (Scythopolis). By G. M. FITZGERALD. xiv, 19 pages, frontispiece, 22 plates. Published for the University Museum by the University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia 1939 (Publications of the Palestine Section of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Vol. IV) \$7.50

The monastery described here, one illustration of the prodigious development of monasticism in the East at this period, is of interest chiefly for its ten fine mosaic floors. The handsomest contains a medallion (published in color in the frontispiece) showing figures representing the twelve months. The others contain figures of birds, of various scenes framed in vine branches, or floral or geometric patterns. Seven Greek mosaic inscriptions record invocations or offerings by various local notables, or give particulars of the history of the building. Two of the texts yield a new word,

πελλαικόν, which denotes a part of a tomb, the nature of which has not yet been established. An inscription from the neighborhood mentions another monastery and shows that Beth-Shan used a Pompeian era beginning in the autumn of 64 B.C. Objects found include a handsome gold chain, ten gold coins (of Maurice Tiberius, Phocas, and Heraclius), bronze coins (several unpublished types), and various minor objects.

Some of the floors have already been published or discussed elsewhere. To the bibliography of these publications given by Mr. Fitzgerald, add J. C. Webster, *The Labors of the Months in Antique and Mediaeval Art* (Princeton 1938) 23-25, 126, and F. M. Biebel in *Gerasa*, ed. by C. H. Kraeling (New Haven 1938) 300. A word needs to be said with regard to the date of the calendar mosaic. Mr. Biebel dates it A.D. 567; Mr. Webster writes that it was laid "probably A.D. 568/9"; and Mr. Avi-Yonah states that it is dated A.D. 568/9 (QDAP 5 [1936] 20). These statements are drawn from Mr. Fitzgerald's original report of the mosaic. There he mentions that a tomb inscription in the chapel (No. V in the present volume) is dated A.D. 567. Another inscription (No. VI here) lay in the doorway between the hall, which contained the calendar mosaic, and a small room which contained another mosaic. This text states that "the work" was completed in a certain year. Some of the numerals in the date are lost, but by the synchronism of the induction the date is shown to be either A.D. 553/4 or 568/9. Originally Mr. Fitzgerald preferred the later date (PEFQS 1931, 65, 68), and this was adopted by his successors. It needs to be pointed out, however, that the earlier date is equally possible, and that "the work," which has been taken to mean the laying of the calendar mosaic in the hall, could equally well refer instead to the laying of the mosaic in the small room. Or possibly the placing of this inscription in the doorway was meant to indicate that the text referred to both mosaics.

Mr. Fitzgerald creates an imaginary difficulty in the inscription published in the Appendix. This contains the letters *ει*, which, as the context shows, denote the 15th Indiction. This notation presented no difficulty to Professor Alt and Père Vincent, who had previously edited the inscription, yet Mr. Fitzgerald writes that "it is to be observed, however, that there is no line drawn above *ει* and that the iota with two dots is found in inscriptions IV and V in the word *πελλαικόν*; it cannot, therefore, be regarded as certain that *ει* denotes the figure 15." The absence of a line above the letters is of course no argument against their being used to represent a numeral; and iota with a dot at each side is not uncommon in Syrian inscriptions in both words and numerals; see, for example, AAES 3.319; PAES 3B.1139, 1146, 1155 (= IGL Syrie 2.417, 426, 432); Wadd. 2619.

A brief descriptive volume of this kind has certain natural limitations, which scholars will recognize and accept. The photographs of the floors and the colored frontispiece are an important addition to the collection of Palestinian mosaics, and the book will be indispensable to scholars who work in this field. Yet there are certain surprising deficiencies, which are especially disconcerting in a book issued under the auspices of the University Museum. There is no hint of where any of the objects now are. The reviewer has learned that the mosaics are still in situ, that the gold chain, the gold coins, and the small pieces of pottery (Pl. III, Fig. 3) are in the University Museum, and that the other objects are in the Museum in Jerusalem. There is no record of the colors of the mosaics, save in the colored plate (one hopes that its colors will be permanent) and in seven lines (5-6) in which the "prevailing colors" are mentioned. The weights of the coins are not given; this omission is particularly deplorable in the case of the gold coins, since it renders them useless to most students. It is to be regretted that the photographs of the gold coins and the gold chain are so poor. The small picture of the chain (which surely deserves a full-size plate) not only fails to do justice to one of the major discoveries of the excavation, but is useless for purposes of study.

GLANVILLE DOWNEY

YALE UNIVERSITY

Ein römisches Rundgrab in Falerii. Baugeschichte des römischen Adels- und Kaisergrabes; Grabbau und Bauplanung des Augustus. By BERNT GÖTZE. x, 88 pages, 38 illustrations, 3 plans. Kohlhammer, Stuttgart 1939 11.25 M.

A pupil of Rodenwaldt, Götz, who is already known as the author of an article on ancient theaters, now presents us with his Kiel dissertation, a thoroughgoing description of an ancient circular tomb near Falerii, together with the results of further investigations that developed from the dissertation. The arrangement of material follows, I should say, the order of his researches, but the presentation would have been improved by a more logical plan having due regard to the relative importance of the individual facts. This defect is not, however, serious enough to prevent the specialist from utilizing the work to the fullest extent.

The tomb in question, like many another in the Campagna, is now a ruined mass of concrete with a few blocks of cut stone from the substructure still adhering. Numerous fragments of the marble decoration have been for the past half-century in the Pergamon-Museum in Berlin, and still others are built into churches at modern Falerii and Civitâ Castellana nearby. The name of the deceased is unknown, although a fragmentary inscription (CIL 11.3128) has been connected with the structure. This gives us the name of

L. Plotidius, almost certainly the dedicant, and two words which perhaps come from his *cursus* [*annoru(m)* and *Iunon(i)*], while the remaining word [Car(f) in . . . or Cart(t) in . . .] is unintelligible. From stylistic examination of the sculptured reliefs Götze dates the tomb in the reign of Nero. Their magnificence and the size of the frieze (35 by 18 Roman feet in height) clearly show that the deceased was at least of equestrian rank. The burial chamber (9 by 14 Roman feet) was designed for cremation burial, while the absence of inner foundations precludes the possibility of a heavy statuary group on the summit.

This type of tomb derives, so Götze thinks, from the Villanovan and Latin cemeteries of Vetulonia and is Indo-Germanic in origin. It is a type found only in the neighborhood of Rome and there used only for persons of high rank, e.g. Sulla, Caesar, Hirtius, Pansa, the Octavii (descendants of the emperor's sister) and Lucius and Gaius Caesar. Tombs of this sort having a diameter of 100 feet or more belong to the end of the republic. Among the examples cited is the so-called 'Torrione di Micara' (not 'Torre,' as Götze has it), northwest of Frascati, which has been thought by some with good reason to be the tomb of Lucullus (Plutarch, *Luc.* 43). What evidence Götze has for calling this tomb of Lucullus a 'Marmorgrab,' I do not know, as Plutarch, our only source, says merely that Lucullus was buried on his Tuscan estate. Moreover, the 'Torrione' is made of peperino blocks. On the other hand I must confess that after reading Götze's discussion of the type, I feel almost certain that the 'Torrione' must really be the final resting place of Lucullus. At least, the evidence seems to me much stronger than when I described the tomb in my *History of Ancient Tusculum* (1929). Götze might have cited also the tomb of M. Coelius Vinicianus (*CIL* 14.2602=tomb 33 of my list) which lies between the west gate of Tusculum and the Via Latina. The inscription and, perhaps, the frieze were of marble, but the structure was smaller than that at Falerii. Very useful also would have been some of the tomb plans and restorations by Canina (*Descrizione dell'antico Tusculo* 1841), though all Canina's work is to be used with caution.

The second part of the book (33-80) consists of a discussion of Augustus' building program, and particularly of the *ustrinum* and mausoleum in the *campus Martius*. In this section are many acute passages and the student of the tomb-form must now begin with Götze's work. Particularly interesting is the demonstration of the relationship between Augustus' program and the tradition concerning Romulus and the *campus Martius*. The emperor's aim was to show himself not only a member of the Julian gens but also a descendant of the old Roman kings. Hence, his building activity in the *campus Martius*, a *locus religiosus*, consecrated to the worship of a hero-cult. "Kein einziger Bau des

Augustus ist nur um der Schönheit willen geplant worden. Jeder Bau steht in einem bestimmten historischen Zusammenhang und hat seinen bestimmten Zweck" (76). Götze's attempt to show that the plan of the forum Augusti and the temple of Mars Ultor with the two exedrae is derived from the old Roman house-plan with atrium, tablinum and alae, seems to me far-fetched, particularly since we are not certain that Roman houses, as distinct from Pompeian houses, developed from such a primitive type.

Finally, a chronology of Roman history from about 1000 B.C. to 1878 A.D., prepared from the point of view of tomb-forms and burial customs, will prove useful to the archaeologist. The illustrations are well chosen and clear, Tafel III being a restoration of the Falerii tomb. The printing of the volume is good and for the most part free from error, but see *gewaltasm* (7), *locus* for *locus*, and δαφνηφορος (64).

GEORGE McCACKEN

OTTERBEIN COLLEGE

Manuel d'archéologie biblique, Volume I. By A.-G. BARROIS. viii, 521 pages, 199 illustrations, 1 map. Picard, Paris 1939 85 fr.

For many years the want of an up-to-date and comprehensive manual of Palestinian archaeology has been painfully felt by archaeologists and biblical scholars. In 1907 Father Barrois's teacher, Fr. L. H. Vincent of the Dominican École Biblique in Jerusalem, published the first such handbook to be based on adequate personal knowledge of the material: *Canaan d'après l'exploration récente* (reprinted in 1914). In 1913 the well-known bibliographer and Palestinologist, Dr. P. Thomsen of Dresden, published a very useful, though summary, sketch of the material in his *Kompendium der palästinischen Altertumskunde*. Three years later Percy S. P. Handcock of the British Museum brought out a handsome volume entitled *The Archaeology of the Holy Land*. Unfortunately, the author was not personally acquainted with the data and possessed little critical faculty, so the result was confused in its chronology and amateurish in its interpretation. Dr. I. Benzinger's *Hebräische Archäologie*, which appeared in successive editions in 1893, 1907, and 1927, followed the traditional lines of pre-archaeological biblical "archaeology," and disregarded the results of excavation except to reproduce some of the most interesting objects which had been found, with inadequate descriptions of them.

In the past six years the situation has been greatly improved, thanks to two admirable German publications, as well as to the book which we are reviewing. The first is Carl Watzinger's *Denkmäler Palästinas* (two vols., Leipzig 1933-35), written by a competent classical archaeologist with excavating experience in Palestine, which gives an admirable historical survey of

building, ceramics, art, etc., from the earliest times to the end of the Byzantine period (cf. the present writer's detailed review of Vol. I in the *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 1936, 50-58). The second is Kurt Galling's *Biblisches Reallexikon* (Tübingen 1934-37) which in about 550 columns furnishes detailed archaeological commentaries on several hundred selected lemmata. Since Galling's work is based on wide research in comparative archaeology, exhaustive familiarity with the relevant literature, and sound critical judgment, the work fills many of the requirements of a handbook of Palestinian archaeology.

The work of Father Barrois at last gives us a handbook of Palestinian archaeology which satisfies our current requirements. Vol. I covers the following topics: general introduction (1-74), nomadic life (75-88), ancient towns (89-99), architectural technique (100-126), fortifications (127-212), hydraulic installations (213-243), houses (244-285), town-life (286-303), rural life (304-351), tools and metallurgy (352-402), ceramics (403-459), textile industry (460-487), decorative arts (488-507). Vol. II will devote about five chapters to social data and about six more to religious data; the manuscript is ready for press, but the German occupation of France may postpone its appearance for some time. Fortunately the manuscript was not in the hands of the Abbeville printer when that town was taken by the Germans. The analysis of contents shows the nature of the work: a combination of a manual of Palestinian archaeology and a handbook of biblical antiquities; it will thus be equally valuable for archaeologists and for biblical students.

Since Father Barrois was a student and professor at St. Stephen in Jerusalem for ten years he may be expected to carry on the Dominican tradition of comprehensive but exact scholarship. He may also be expected to continue along the methodological lines marked out many years ago by Lagrange and Vincent. Vol. I thus takes the place, to a considerable extent, of the manual of early Palestinian archaeology which Father Vincent had been planning for many years to replace the antiquated text of his *Canaan*. Since Barrois is himself a field archaeologist with several campaigns to his credit and since he has taken part in a number of other excavations and has visited most of the excavated sites in Palestine, we may expect his information to be detailed and precise. Since he is a philologian and biblical scholar we may expect him to use documentary materials critically and to provide a sound and up-to-date treatment of Hebrew words, many hundreds of which must be considered in the course of a treatise on biblical archaeology. All these expectations are amply fulfilled. On the debit side we must list the fact that his acquaintance with the vast pertinent literature has obviously been limited by the restricted facilities of French libraries as well by as the

fact that he has not been in Palestine for a number of years. In a new edition Barrois should correct many slips in the spelling of Arabic words and proper names, as well as a smaller number of similar mistakes or printer's errors in Hebrew and English.

Aside from these minor matters, the author's principal weakness is chronological. Uncritical acceptance of his great teacher's more personal views has led him into many false situations, some of which confuse the archaeological picture and give it a strangely unreal appearance. Among such situations may be mentioned especially the dating of the Ghassulian culture at the end of the third millennium and the beginning of the second, whereas it actually belongs in Early Chalcolithic, not after the middle of the fourth millennium, and perhaps even before 4000 B.C. The Ghassulian culture is definitely earlier than the Middle Chalcolithic culture of Byblus, with which he begins his chronological account of the pottery (203ff.). Since all scholars of competence except Vincent and Barrois (and possibly other pupils of the former) have accepted the early date of Ghassulian and since it has now been amply confirmed by stratigraphy, there is no need to present the evidence in detail. Vincent's preference for criteria of ceramic texture, which he rates above other typological considerations and even above stratigraphy, as a guide to chronology, has not only led him to date Ghassul at least 1500 years too low but has also led him to call most recent stratigraphical work in Palestine into question. In this skepticism he is faithfully followed by Barrois, whose chronological statements are disconcertingly vague. This vagueness and fluidity of chronology would be seriously damaging to the book if the author had not decided to replace chronological treatment almost throughout by topical and topographical presentation. In his elaborate discussion of the art of fortification, for example, Barrois takes each archaeological site up in turn and exhausts its material before proceeding to the next site. This method is perfectly legitimate and is, incidentally, less likely to become antiquated than a chronological form of presentation might be. On the other hand, however, Barrois's work lacks the plasticity and effectiveness which distinguish Watzinger's volumes and often becomes a mere catalogue—though a very well written and unusually instructive catalogue.

In concluding this review we wish to repeat that Father Barrois has written the first manual of biblical archaeology which entirely deserves the name and that it will be invaluable to future students of the subject. We congratulate him on his achievement and we congratulate the Catholic University of America on acquiring him as a permanent member of its professorial staff.

W. F. ALBRIGHT

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ABSTRACTS OF ARTICLES

ANCIENT AUTHORS

Augustine. E. TRÉHOREL. *Le psaume abécédaire de Saint Augustin.* Treatment of the metrical peculiarities of the famous *Psalmus contra partem Donati*, written in 393 to provide instruction for the people in a form easy for them to comprehend and remember. Hence the alphabetical arrangement, the refrain, the fixity of the median caesura, the isosyllabification, the penultimate accent at the caesura and at the end, and the assonance or rhyme, metrical elements all found previously in separate poems, but here brought together for the first time.
REL 17 (1939) 309-29

(McCracken)

Petronius. ARNALDO BISCARDI. *Postilla Petroniana.* The freeing of Dionysus (41.7) and the acrobat (54.5) by Trimalchio come under the technical classification of manumissio inter amicos. In such cases the use of the word manumissio was not necessary. These two were also included in the manumissio testamento (71.1-3) which gave freedom to all Trimalchio's slaves. The invitation given to Philargyrus, Cario, and Menophila (70.10) was in effect an adhibitio ad convivium which was equivalent to a manumissio per mensam. The other slaves who, in addition to the three named, accepted the invitation, shared the rights conferred by the adhibitio. For all these mentioned, then, the manumissio testamento was an iteratio manumissionis, and all the slaves alike, present or not, received libertas Romana.
RFIC 17 (1939) 342-5

(Latimer)

LITERARY HISTORY. CRITICISM

BEARE, W. *Crepidata, Palliata, Tabernaria, Togata.* In general, ancient writers used the terms *palliata* and *crepidata* to indicate 'adaptations of Greek comedy', *togata* and *tabernaria* to mean 'native Latin comedy'. There is no authority for the modern attempt to distinguish *crepidata* as 'derivative tragedy', or *tabernaria* as a 'lower-class form of *togata*'.
CR 53 (1939) 166-8

(Jones)

— *Masks on the Roman Stage.* By analysing the relevant passages in Diomedes, Cicero, Donatus, and Festus, and by discussing pertinent lines in Plautus and Terence, Beare adduces evidence for the early use of masks on the Roman stage.
CQ 33 (1939) 139-46

(Fine)

TEXIER, ROGER. *A propos de deux représentations archaïques de la fuite d'Enée.* Two of the earliest Greek portrayals of the flight of Aeneas are noteworthy for the inclusion of the sacra carried away from Troy by Anchises. The probable inspiration of these examples is a literary source which reflects the tradition of Samothracian Cabiritic mysteries and their dissemination through Anchises, a priest who guards the sacred emblems. Both of these representations belong to the sixth century, one of them being probably Graeco-Etruscan. Hence the literary source may be a work of Stesichorus, who used the Aegean tradition to explain the origin of a Campano-Etruscan cult. From this connection the Italic myth of Aeneas developed.
RA 14 (1939) 12-21

(Hulley)

WEBSTER, T. B. L. *Greek Theories of Art and Literature down to 400 B.C.* "The Homeric poet and artist is a *poietes*, creating something which must be both complete and essential because it is to live and exercise an influence of its own. At the end of the fifth century poet and artist are more restricted and specialized, hold-

ing a mirror to the flux of appearance. Many stages separate the *poietes* from the *mimetes*. The turning-point is somewhere in the third quarter of the sixth century."

CQ 33 (1939) 166-79

(Fine)

PHILOSOPHY. RELIGION. SCIENCE

CAMERON, A. *An Epigram of the Fifth Century B.C.* Discussion of an inscription found some years ago in the Ceramicus. The language of the epigram is carefully examined, and the key words are shown to have a strong religious coloring. The poem is a religious interpretation of an Athenian defeat, perhaps at Coronea. The defeat was a miraculous punishment incurred by the neglect of some oracle, and the punishment is conceived as a manifest warning to mankind. The sequence of events can also be regarded as a tragic peripety brought on by the error of the Athenians, and the epigram illustrates that conception of divine intervention in human affairs which justifies the use of the *deus ex machina* in Greek tragedy. As a historical document, the poem may reflect the policy of Pericles.
HThR 33 (1940) 97-130

(Walton)

DODDS, E. R. *Maenadism in the Bacchae.* A nocturnal oreibasia of women in midwinter, as part of the biennial festivals of Dionysus, is now well attested for historical times in Greece. Their wild dance must originally, at least, have sprung from actual temporary displacements of normal human personality. The psychological factors involved and many of the physical manifestations described by Euripides—e.g. tossing of the head and insensibility to pain—can be paralleled and illuminated by the dancing madness epidemic in Europe from the 14th to the 17th centuries and by similar practices among primitive peoples and in certain American religious sects of the present. The maenad, therefore, "is not in essence a mythological character but an observed and still observable human type."

Euripides' interest in the Dionysiac religion is not the result solely of his stay in Macedonia but appears earlier. This interest was perhaps occasioned by the spread of Oriental cults and superstitions at Athens during the Peloponnesian War, and in particular by the worship of Sabazius.
HThR 33 (1940) 155-76

(Walton)

NAWRATIL, KARL. ΘΕΙΟΝ ΤΑΡΑΧΩΔΕΣ. Concerning Solon's axiom, as reported by Herodotus (1.32), τὸ θεῖον πᾶν φθονεὸν καὶ ταραχῶδες, Hellmann and Pohlenz have recently endeavored to show that while the gods of the Iliad are literally 'envious' and 'given to provoking trouble,' this is less true of the Odyssey. Later, in the elegies of Solon and the history of Herodotus, the 'envy' of the gods is such from the human, subjective standpoint. Objectively, it is a regulating phenomenon, quite the same as δίκη; while ταραχή connotes a straining for κόσμος. Nawratil sees in the latter—the Herodotean θεῖον ταραχῶδες—the fundamental concept of historical crises.
PhW 60 (1940) 125-6

(Plumpe)

PICARD, CH. *La triade des Dioscures et d'Hélène en Italie.* Traces of the worship of this triad are found on two bronze Etruscan plaques now in the Vatican, at Tarentum and Agrigentum, and on an altar from the Lacus Juturna in the forum, as well as in many other places in Italy. P. regards the battle of Lake Regillus as a true evocatio whereby the Dioscuri were brought to Rome from Tusculum.
REL 17 (1939) 367-90

(McCracken)

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Compiled by Lionel Casson and Bluma L. Trell from the American, British, French and German weekly, and Italian monthly, bibliographical publications, and from books received at the editorial offices. Prices have not been confirmed.

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